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PRICE 2 CENTS.

DEBATE ON TRADE UNIONISM

Held at the Grand Opera House,
New Haven, Connecticut,

November 25, 1900,

BETWEEN

DANIEL DE LEON,

REPRESENTING THE SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR
ALLIANCE,

— AND —

JOB HARRIMAN,

REPRESENTING OLD STYLE OR PURE AND SIMPLE
TRADE UNIONISM.

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On taking the chair, Mr. Wm. E. Clegg, of Yale University, announced the subject and distribution of time as follows:

"The question is, 'IS IT SOLVED, THAT THE TACTICS OF THE SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE AGAINST THE PURE AND SIMPLE TRADES UNION IS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WORKING CLASS AND FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA?' The time of the debate will be divided as follows: for the presentation of their arguments the gentlemen will have thirty minutes each; for rebuttal, Mr. Daniel De Leon of the Socialist Labor Party, will have twenty minutes; Mr. Harriman of the Social Democratic Party, thirty minutes; Mr. De Leon closing the speech in a ten minute period. At the five minutes before the expiration of the thirty and twenty minute periods one stroke of the gavel will signify that the gentlemen have five minutes to complete their periods. At the end of nine minutes, during the ten minute period one stroke of the gavel will be given. The first speaker of the evening will be Mr. Daniel De Leon."

DE LEON:

Working men and working women of New Haven: The question that is to be presented to you here to-night is, in my opinion, a pivotal question—the trades union question—a question that is blocking the way to progress, and the correct solution of which is essential to the interests of the working class and of the Socialist movement of the land. It is a question that has to be approached deliberately and calmly. I come not to "win a victory." There is no such question here in my mind as to whether I or any one else wins a snap victory at this meeting. I propose to speak to you deliberately. It is a question of facts and close reasoning. It is a question, the facts concerning which you will have to take home with you and consider there. It is not a question as to what man wins, but a question whether our common country shall win, and whether this vexed labor question can be at all solved.

The trades union policy of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance involves the trade union policy of the Socialists organized in the Socialist Labor Party. That policy was not evolved out of the inner consciousness of any one man or set of men. It is a policy that is based upon certain facts, certain historic facts, certain undeniable facts, and established upon conclusions that are not escapable from. In choosing these facts, I have been careful to take only such as are over and above dispute. Only children wrangle over facts; men agree upon them. Now, I do not suppose that this meeting has come here to witness a "washing of dirty linen," with mutual calumnies and recriminations. The facts I shall present to you are facts known to be facts, or if they are not known to be such by my audience, my audience can easily verify them because they are all taken from the official organs of the very organizations against whom we stand arrayed.

The first principle upon which the Socialists stand is this: that the permanent improvement of the working class, let alone their emancipation, is impossible, unless they obtain absolute control of the government and thereby turn this capitalist system into the Socialist Republic. That is a fundamental principle with us.

The second principle is this: the conquest of the public powers by the S. L. P. is an impossibility over-night. It will take at least four years from the time that the workingmen commence to march actually and intelligently towards their emancipation. It may take ten, it may take twenty years. In the meantime what shall be done? Something is wanted NOW. Some economic relief is demanded now. The political organization can only come into play once a year. In this State only once every two years. At any rate, it can come into play only occasionally. The workingmen need something else besides. They need an organization that may give some relief, however temporary. No intelligent physician will attend a serious sickness, overlooking entirely the palliatives that he might give his patient. However much an economic organization may give palliatives only, however entirely those things may be palliatives, they are something; it is a relief and the working men need it, and need it badly. Now then, the only organization that can give that temporary relief is the economic organization, the trades union. Accordingly, the S. L. P. builds upon this second principle, that the trades union which can do good to the working men must be a trades union which has a certain central characteristic; it must recognize the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class. The trade union that doesn't recognize that much, so that it may be kept from entanglements that the conflicting interests of their competing employers might bring them into, a trades union that doesn't recognize the class struggle will find itself arrayed against other working men of different trades, sometimes of their own trade, according to the temporary interests of their employer. A workingmen's organization that is not a class-conscious, a workingmen's organization that imagines that the interests of the capitalist class and the interests of the working class are one and the same—such an organization and such workingmen are simply appendages to the capitalist class, and will be drawn into the vortex of competing capitalist conflicts. (Applause.) Don't take

away my time. That is the second principle. We must have an economic organization and we must have a political organization. We see in Germany a magnificent political movement, substantially a workingmen's movement, and yet the condition of the workingmen declines steadily. Why? Because there is no economic organization worth mentioning. In the United States we see a big, substantially big, trades union movement, and yet the condition of the workingmen goes down steadily. Why? Because here the political movement is insignificant. In France, where the political movement is strong and the trades union, intelligent trades union, is strong, there we can with justice say that large areas of the workingmen have been improved, while the struggle is going on. We need an economic organization accordingly, that moves under the protecting goads of a labor political party.

Now then, arrived so far, the question is, Are there such trade unions in existence? If you want a thing and you find something in the way that calls itself what you are looking for, you are not going to build one; you will try to get along with it, if possible. Working in this direction, the Socialists, organized in the Socialist Labor Party, came across a movement that was said to be a trades union movement. It came across organizations of working men. Now the present policy of the Socialists in the Socialist Labor Party is dictated by these two principles that I have just mentioned, plus the experience made with the existing unions that we found, and right here a short sketch of those unions will be necessary.

We found organizations of workingmen, but we found that they were marked with exactly the reverse of the central characteristic that was necessary for a workingmen's organization. Instead of being class-conscious, they built upon the principle of the brotherhood of the workingman and the capitalist. As a result of that, they moved for higher wages, and right after that they gave up whatever they had gained. They were torn amidst themselves by the interests of the capitalist class. At that time these trade unions, guided by a natural instinct, and yet by an untaught instinct, moved in a peculiar way. The giant was blind. He struck in the air, and sometimes his blows fell upon individual capitalists. The capitalist class then proceeded to endeavor to control the trade union, and a struggle took place within the unions. On the one side were the Socialists; the other the capitalists. Socialists and representatives of the capitalists found themselves within the trade unions, struggling each of them to get control of that organization—the Socialists trying to get control of that organization for the working men; the representatives of the capitalists trying to get control of that organization for the capitalist class. The result of it was that the Socialists I have not heard of.

In that struggle, the Socialist movement being weak, the Socialists went under, and presently the trades union movement became in the country an engine of the capitalist, controlled by the capitalist through what Mark Hanna has justly called the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist class.

These men, who are the officers of the unions, and whom we have termed Labor Fakirs, or the Organized Scaberry of the unions—these Labor Fakirs, this Organized Scaberry, these labor lieutenants of the capitalists in the unions have controlled the union absolutely in the economic interests of the capitalist class, and obedient to the dictates of the capitalists.

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— And we have seen for instance in New York, it is an open secret, that the recent trolley strike was a stock exchange strike, dictated by the magnates who wanted to force down the price of stock so as to buy in cheaply, and that strike was ordered by these men, and carried out by their labor lieutenants. We saw the strike of the miners in Pennsylvania ordered by the United Mine Workers against De Armitt, and the rank and file were forced into that battle and sacrificed as food for cannon, not obedient to the interests of the working men, but obedient to the interests of the capitalists, who gave the orders to their labor lieutenants, the labor fakirs in the unions.

We saw more. We saw that every time the revolutionary pulse was felt within the unions, and the rank and file wanted something, the capitalist influence was felt potent within the union. Through his labor lieutenants, the capitalist managed to still that pulse, and operating his labor lieutenants like lightning rods, he ran the revolutionary lightning into the ground. We have seen, for instance, when the miners of Alabama, wanting to wring better conditions from their employers, elected upon a revolutionary program their delegates to the convention, that the mine operators ordered their labor lieutenants, the Miners' Union's officers, to somehow or other annul those elections and start new elections; that this new order was carried out, and that another convention was thus chosen agreeable to the employers, instead of what it was at first. We have seen for instance that when miners at Hazelton felt indignant at being shot by the sheriffs of capitalism, it was again a lieutenant of labor, Mr. Fahy, whom the capitalists gave free tickets to reach the place, churches and halls to speak in, and who there addressed the men, saying that these employers were good men, that it was a mistake, that it was not meant, and that they should stop hating their employers, they should give the orders to their labor lieutenants, the labor fakirs in the unions.

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I will not mention more illustrations. These will do. Such a trade union movement, whatever it was, was no longer a movement of the working class, any more than an army that consists of working men is a workingmen's army; it is it is manned and officered by the representatives of the capitalist class.

With that experience the Socialists said, something has to be done with these organizations, which are carrying the working men down to destruction, these organizations which are controlled by the lieutenants of the capitalist class, where every pulse of the revolutionary feeling among the rank and file is deadened, and where the men are made to move obedient to the interests and the dictates of the capitalists.

When we moved in that direction, we came across two theories. One set of men said to us: "Why, give it up; don't bother with the union." These were usually the "intellectuals." They said: "The union is rotten; it is a vanishing thing." "No," said we, "it is not a vanishing thing; it is a rotten thing, but the skeleton remains." It is with these unions as with the seals in the Probylo Islands. The seal-catchers don't go out in pursuit of the seals. They know that at certain seasons the seals gather of themselves at certain spots. At such seasons the hunters are ready at the given places, club in hand; and, when the seals turn up, hit them over the head and capture them. So with the Organized Scaberry that remains in control of these skeletons of trade unions. They wait for the season when the working men, moved by a revolutionary impulse, demand higher wages and better times. Then come these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, and with their capitalist clubs, hit this revolutionary movement over the head, by leading it into the ground, like the lightning rod does with the lightning. The theory of "dropping" the union would not do.

The other theory suggested was: "Bore from within." And we tried. We went into the unions and bored from within. We tried to teach the class struggle. One division, in which I was active myself, was in the K. of L. We struggled and we struggled with the labor lieutenants of the capitalists; it came to hand to hand encounters; finally, we landed on the outside.

While this was the experience or fate of one division of "Borers from Within," the experience and fate of another division, the division that operates us to-day, was this: By little and little their voices were extinguished. An illustration of that is found in the Progressive Union of Cigar-makers No. 90 of New York. It was said to be the Socialist Union par excellence in the land. It went into the International Union; it was going to bore from within. It was going to teach Socialism. By little and little there was less and less of its voice heard. To-day even within its own organization, Republican heelers are elected to represent it, and they dare not remove them—(Applause)—and as far as their national organ is concerned, not a voice is heard on the part of the borers from within against the economic and other outrages that are being committed.

"Boring from within" resolved itself accordingly, into this: either you must bore to a purpose, and then you land quickly on the outside; or you don't land on the outside, but you knock under, a silent supporter of the felonies committed by the labor lieutenants of capitalism. Such was the experience.

In Wisconsin there was a strike of the wood carvers in the McMillan shop. One of the benchmen of that shop clubbed one of the strikers and killed him. The revolutionary pulse was felt throughout the land. What became of it? One of the vice-presidents of the A. F. of L., the National Secretary of these very woodworkers, called the strikers together, and says: "Men, be cool, be calm; McMillan is a good employer, he is a kind man; forget what has happened." This is of record in his own journal—cannot be denied.

See what happened with the boiler makers. There was in the Senate of the U. S. a bill for the eight hour day by the A. F. of L. Senator Elkins bills that bill, speaks and votes against it. Thereupon, the boiler makers go about and make speeches for Elkins, calling him a good employer. Why? Because he had a ship subsidy bill that would throw some jobs into their hands. Obedient to Elkins' dictation, that branch of the A. F. of L. stood up against the rest of them. For the sake of what they might get, or imagined they could get, they were willing to stand by the man who had killed this eight hour day measure. This is also on record.

Take another instance. There is in New York a union of the Cabinet

makers, a German organization, said to be a Socialist organization par excellence. It goes into the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, and it is barely in there, when articles begin to turn in that journal of theirs denouncing the Socialist movement, denouncing Socialism and throwing obloquy upon Karl Marx. Whenever I feel that I am calumniated, I think of those articles. Why, they have not begun to say about me what they said about Marx in that journal. Did any one ever hear an answer to that from the borers from within? The journal is clear of that.

Take this other instance of the cigarmakers. When their employers wanted a tariff reduction, they passed resolutions in the interest of their employees for a tariff reduction, and thereby put themselves diametrically opposed to the employees of those employers who needed rather a high tariff. While that was going on, did any one ever hear a single voice against that on the part of the borers from within in their own journal?—Never!

"Boring from within" was but a blind for the theory of "dropping" the union. Boring from within meant to throw up the sponge, sheath the sword, and become a traitor to the working class. Boring from within meant that you had to keep quiet, and get the applause of the labor fakir, so that he might do what he wanted to.

Take two instances that are palpating now in the United States.

It is a well known fact that the Cuban cigarmakers get the highest wages among the cigar makers. That fact is not agreeable to the employers. It is a well known fact that the employers have always endeavored to get those Cuban cigarmakers to join the International Union, so that while they would still be paying "union wages," they would, in the point of fact, pay the Cubans lower wages. A bloody conflict is now on in Tampa, Fla. With the connivance of the capitalists, the local branch of the International Union of Cigarmakers has fired shots into the Cuban organization of cigar makers. That strike is obstinate to the interests of the employers. Their labor lieutenants are managing it so as to compel these men of the La Resistencia organization to come into the International Union, and when they get into the International Union, then the employers can pay them "union wages," and yet pay them less than they get now. Have you heard a single one of those who claim that "boring from within" is the right thing raise the voice of indignation against that crime against the workers, against that obnoxious obedience to the dictates of the capitalists? I have not heard of that.

Take the instance of the machinists. The machinists wanted shorter hours, and agitated for that. The employers finally found that they could not pretend not to hear, and said: "We grant you two hours a week,"—and therupon posted notices whereby they take off five minutes here and ten minutes yonder, five minutes in this place and ten minutes in the other place, so that after all, out of the two hours alleged to be granted, fully one hour and a half are taken away, and you know what that means—that the other half hour has to go with them. But for the labor lieutenants in the International Machinists' Union that thing could not go on. The rank and file of the machinists would have discovered it. The capitalists needed these labor lieutenants to pull the wool over the eyes of the working men. The capitalists themselves could do no fit, consequently they call upon the O'Connells and Warhers and the rest of their labor lieutenants and officers of that union, the Organized Scaberry of that union, and these call meetings, and advise the men to accept the proposition as a "victory," claiming that "the two hours have been granted." In the midst of that what did the men who wanted to bore from within say? Not a word. If they attempted to rise, the labor lieutenants and their sub-lieutenants would jump at them, would call them scabs, and they are afraid of being called names, so consequently they keep quiet.

Upon these facts and these principles, the Socialists organized in the Socialist Labor Party organized the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. It said, these unions cannot be ignored, nor can they be bored from within exclusively. They must be battered to pieces from without. The bulk of the working men are disorganized because they have made and experienced with these organizations that are controlled by the labor lieutenants of the capitalists. The unorganized men we try to organize into the Alliance, and with their aid try to reform those unions, and bring them over. In the pursuit of this policy, of course, there is war. You cannot establish a national organization like the S. T. & L. A. and have the A. F. of L. and the K. of L., or what there is left of it, imagine that means friendship. They immediately began to denounce, and the S. T. & L. A. has marched upon those forces, and its conduct, undeniable by any truthful or self-respecting man, has been this: It organizes the working men; in any conflict between the workingman and the capitalist, whether the working man is within the Alliance or disorganized entirely on the outside, or organized in the pure and simple union, if there is a real conflict, the Alliance stands by those men, regardless of the organization, as it has done in more than one instance. If, however, the conflict is a conflict between labor and capital in appearance only, where the working men are being used as food for cannon, obedient to some stock jobbing enterprise, or where the labor fakirs are doing for the employers what they cannot do for themselves in the Union, as now in the case of the machinists, then we of the S. T. & L. A. say that it would be a betrayal of the interests of the working class to keep quiet and get the applause, the friendship, or the approval of these labor lieutenants. Then say we, as we are saying in the case of this conflict in Tampa, as in this case of the machinists: "Workingmen, you are being cheated, you are being deceived by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class!" While we are doing that, of course we are being cowed with calumnies. But this movement depends upon men, and not upon easily frightened children. As the sun will break through the darkest clouds, so will the correct course, the integrity, the purity of the Alliance shine across all the clouds of calumny that are being hurled against it. We organize the men, we combat these pure and simple organizations, and expect to make them surrender. Already one of them, the wagonmakers, came within eight or twelve votes of surrendering. Others may not surrender, and will have to be taken by storm. These pure and simple organizations are forts in the hands of the capitalist class because these forts are held by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. These forts must be captured; they cannot be wheeled into line for the working class.

There are just three theories with regard to the trades union. One theory is held by those who absolutely oppose the Socialist movement. They say the union is quite enough. All the good that there is in the world, from bicycles up to star showers in the November midnight sky, everything is due to the union. I have not spent any time with that theory. Should it be deemed necessary, I might take it up later.

The other theory is either "bore from within," or "abandon the union," which means the same thing. I have shown you what amounts to.

The third theory is that of the Alliance; that boring from within, with the labor fakir in possession, is a waste of time, and that the only way to do is to stand by the workingmen always. To organize them, enlighten them, and whenever a conflict breaks out in which their brothers are being fooled and used as food for cannon, to have the S. T. & L. A. throw itself in the midst of the fray, and sound the note of warning.

In pursuit of this policy we have anxiously, I for one, looked for an argument against our position. To this day I have not heard one. All that I have heard is calumnious charges against the Alliance. In yielding the floor to my opponent, who, I understand, is to bring arguments, if he brings any they will be the first I have ever heard, and no one will listen to him more attentively than myself. (Great applause.)

HARRIMAN:

The propositions that are laid down by the opposition are that the class struggle should be recognized by the trades union movement, and that political action should be its mode of procedure. Now, that is not the question before this audience for discussion. It is not a question of political action. All Socialists endorse independent political action on the part of the workingmen. The question before this audience to-day—and if I do not quote it correctly, I wish the chairman would call my attention to it—is: "Resolved that the tactics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance against pure and simple trades unionism is for the benefit of the working class, and for the promotion of Socialism in America." (Great Applause.) Never mind. That will not be credited to me, that time. Now it is not a question of opposing political action, but a question of opposing the tactics of the S. T. & L. A. against trades unionism. This is the position before us, and nothing else.

What are the tactics of the S. T. & L. A. against trade unionism? What are they? They were not told here-to-night. We were told that political action is their tactics. Very well. That is not the tactics against trade unionism, for a man might be in favor of political action, and yet not oppose old style trade unionism. Not at all. He might endeavor to add political action to the tactics; not oppose trade unionism, but add that as another weapon of their warfare. What now, are the tactics? In Mr. De Leon's paper of March 4th he says: "Of course the S. L. P.

livelihood, that is, their means of preserving and carrying on the fight against the capitalist class, their means of keeping them up—always, mark you this, I say, always necessarily with a downward tendency, and must be. Now then the moment you strike the thing that helps and guards them, the means by which they fight their great battle with the capitalist class, that moment they think you are their enemy, that moment you arouse their antagonism, that moment you inspire their hatred and you divide your men into two hostile camps, the trades union movement on the one side and your S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. on the other, and there the workingmen fight like cats and dogs, while all their power is being sapped, fighting over the policy, fighting over a difference, merely because, not that they are dishonest, I say to you that the hundreds of thousands of men in the trades unions are not dishonest—that there are a few, yes, that there are a few in this movement, yes, but that doesn't condemn your movement because they are dishonest. (Applause.) Now, you see, all this divides them into two hostile camps. I do not have to tell you men that you are divided, that you are divided here to-night. You are fighting each other to-night, and you are all Socialists fighting over a difference in trade union policy, and that is all. You are fighting to the end, and it is this policy that has divided you.

Furthermore, it has divided their party themselves, for in 1896 the S. T. & L. A. split, and in 1899—to De Leon don't look surprised. (De Leon: I don't look surprised. Your memory is failing you.) In 1899 the S. L. P. split—didn't look up surprised that time—and it split upon this policy, upon the policy the difference between the S. T. & L. A. policy against the trades union movement. We fought over it and we split on it. Why? Because we knew that to follow the policy meant to array the working class against Socialism by incorrect tactics. What did we do? We look at them and we say, the Social Democratic party to-day, which to-day contains the majority of the S. L. P.—he will not say the majority, but I will say a large majority in the United States—but we split, our conventions about equal size, and we fought over this particular difference—we say to-day, that if you would enter the unions with all your members—he says we did and we were weak when we were struggling for the control of the union. Ah! Were you weak? Then you should have waited until you were strong. (Laughter.) How could you hope to gain the control of a trade union movement when you were weak and when the vast majority of the members of the trade unions didn't know what you wanted. I say, we tell you you are making a mistake. Go into your union; when a strike comes on, espouse the cause of the union, take up the fight of the union, make their interests your interests, and when you do, you will find that they will open their ears to every argument that promises a benefit and a means to further their ends. Then they will listen to your arguments on political action. You say, No, no; we have tried. Well, I say, Yes, yes; we have tried it; and let me assure you we have tried it in dead earnest. I do not make this statement because I think they do not know it. Here are some facts.

I do not take my own literature. I always prefer to prove the case against the opposition by their own literature. (Laughter.) Here is a part of it. In their debate when this famous resolution was passed: "If any member of the S. L. P. accepts office in a pure and simple trade or labor organization, he shall be considered antagonistic to the S. L. P., and shall be expelled"—the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. are identical in this wish—"but if any officer of a pure and simple trade or labor organization applies for membership in the S. L. P., he shall be rejected." Here is a very interesting little statement here. Now this first is from Kuhn. Kuhn opposed that—their National Secretary—of the S. L. P. He says: "It has been my experience with a number of correspondents of mine who are organizers of Sections of the S. L. P., that they were at the same time officers of such unions." I mean by that that it is possible to work from within, that it is possible. Now, mark you—"Comrade Meyer himself for a long time"—author of the resolution I just read—"was an officer of such a union." It is possible, isn't it? (Laughter.) "Hammond, for instance, was, for many years, I think, an officer in the Typographical local in Minneapolis"—it is possible, isn't it?—"another comrade, one of our best men in Brooklyn, a man, one of the most active men, was also a member, hem, hem, (applause), hem, (great applause), hem, a man, hem, hem, (great applause), and president of the Carpenters' Union in Brooklyn."

Furthermore, let us take Teche's statement. I want to show you that it is possible. "As far as I am personally concerned," Teche says—on of the men who spoke in this national convention—"I am heartily in sympathy with the sentiments spoken, but I believe at the same time there is such a thing as pulling the strings a little too tight, to run a little too fast, and I believe with Comrade Kuhn that circumstances alter cases in many instances. I will give you an instance in my own case. I have belonged to a trade union ever since I came to this country and belonged to the same in the old country, a small concern, only about, say, ninety men in the whole country left of us in the whole organization. Every officer belongs to our party." It is possible, isn't it? Old tried and true comrades, remarkable, isn't it? Can't bore from within, can you?—"and I can further point out that in percentage of members who are Socialists and collections made, there is no organization in this country that can come up to it, especially if we take into consideration the wages we have been earning. If the resolution goes through without any further ado, all of us must resign, and we flatter ourselves that we are to-day presidents secretaries and financial secretaries, whether they have any salary or not makes no difference," he says—all of them, there are a whole lot of them around the country—it is possible—all of them—"it means that they will have to step out of their offices and take their places on the floor"—Now mark you, here is the important point—"I believe that it will be the best means of swinging the whole organization into the S. T. & L. A."

Do you not see that the arguments prove one thing above all others, that boring within is possible, and you can bore within and gain the confidence of the union. The gentleman upon this platform cannot go to the trade union people of which he spoke, the Cigarmakers' Union in New York, because of their action and get any hearing whatever before the members there because of the action. I say to you men that the possibility of boring within is infinite in its scope. Because you work with the laborers in their struggles and in their strife, and when they are in their fight and the party backs them in their struggles, you open their ears not only to political action, but to the philosophy that lies behind the political action, behind the political action that is taught; and all over the country everywhere there are to-day unions taking up the proposition of the collective ownership of the means of production. I can cite to you the Central Federation of Labor in New York, the Cleveland Central Labor Union Constitution, and they both provide for the collective ownership and independent political action. Simply because those who have been patient and who have worked within have gained the confidence of the people, they have listened to them, and they have gained an advantage by gaining a hearing before those men.

Now the vast majority of the people in the trade unions vote upon the laws of the trade union. They elect their men, they make their laws for the members by a popular vote, not by the vote of the officers, and I maintain that the worst laws of the trade union organization are due in the matter of independent political action, to the ignorance of those members upon this point and not to their wilful dishonesty. If they are wilfully dishonest, en masse, you might as well give up the entire fight, for why should we argue with dishonest men? But if they are honest and do not know, then we can come in among them, espouse their cause, gain their confidence, and they will listen to our doctrines upon political action, independent political action, and by this means we will be able to induce them to add to the boycott and the strike the ballot as a further weapon to gain their ends, for with the ballot in their hands they are all-powerful. But, if you arouse antagonism, you cannot get the ballot in their hands.

I deny that the unions are controlled by a few men. Take for instance the International Brotherhood of Engineers. Our friend told us three years ago that they were destroyed wasted the substance of 48 years of existence. To-day after that struggle they are more powerful than ever before. Eighty-odd thousands belong to them. They have a million and a half dollars in reserve fund, and it only shows that though they may have been temporarily crushed, yet the capitalist system will produce the union again, and if they are not Socialists, if the Socialist propaganda has not reached them, it will simply make the same old union over again, and all your fight is for nothing. (Great applause and cheers.)

DE LEON—I hope the intended insult upon your intellect has not escaped you. The arguments of the gentleman who has just consumed thirty minutes were partly devoted to statements I did not make at all, and that were no part of my argument. (Laughter and applause.) lie had to put up a straw man of his own. I cannot blame him, as his case is a bad one. (Laughter.) The other part of his answer was to try to insist upon your exceptions to prove the reverse of a rule. I did not say, as was falsely imputed to me, that the point was how to get the rank and file to vote. I did not cross the political line. I stated that as to the ideal, and then I went on to something else. He crossed the political line. I may have time, ten minutes, at the end to take that up. What I did say was that in the economic struggle the aspirations of the working men were run into the ground by the labor lieutenants of capital. All that he said about trying to give them the ballot had nothing

to do with the case. We try to have the workingmen improve their condition NOW. I tried to make that clear enough, and I maintained and I argued that the conditions of the workers could not be improved NOW, despite the labor fakir argument we have just heard. Their condition cannot be improved so long as they are controlled by the labor lieutenants of capital; and I stated why: because every time these men proceed to do something in their own behalf as in the case of the machinists to-day, the labor lieutenants will see to it that they are deceived; and he, venturesome though he was, did not dare to deny that these machinists are being deceived now, and that the alleged two hours granted to them is a swindle upon them, and that swindle is practiced upon them by the aid of the labor lieutenants of capital; and the press of the "borers from within."

His other insult to you was to make out that I said that the rank and file were dishonest. Oh, what eloquence did we hear—regular pulpit eloquence on the subject. Clear enough I stated that the rank and file were earnest in their attempt to improve their condition, and they are surely honest in that desire. Who is there here who could have understood me otherwise, and that does not know that it could not possibly be imputed to me that I said that the rank and file were dishonest?

The other insult perpetrated upon you was to quote the speech of Comrade Teche, who has a little bit of a union under entirely exceptional circumstances. He concealed the facts to you, and then gave you Teche's speech, as though the status of his union were a general thing, and he proceeded to quote some other exceptional instances on the point of officers. An intelligent man, a man who is not talking for a snap victory, a man who respects his cause, doesn't build upon exceptions: he takes the rule. I quoted instances of not little, petty unions like Teche's organization. I quoted the workworkers, of thousands of them; quoted the cigarmakers, of thousands of them; quoted the machinists, of thousands of them; quoted the boilermakers, of thousands of them—unions of power, numerically, however slight their power to improve their condition, and that they were run into the ground by the labor lieutenants of capital, as is happening now with the machinists.

Another insult to your intelligence. (Sniggers from Kangaroos.) You will laugh the wrong side of your mouths, one of these days. I have seen Democratic crowds of workingmen who laughed at me once. They don't laugh now. Another insult to your intelligence was to pretend to make an argument against my position that attacked the boring from within; and in what did that charge consist? In repeating charges started by our adversaries, and which I here want to say are a falsehood from beginning to end. I mean the Davis affair. But I want to grant, for the sake of argument, that the charge is true. What would you say of a man who stood before you and denied that Socialism was right, and instead of attacking the theory of Socialism were to quote Millerand who remains in the French cabinet, a Socialist in a cabinet which they denounced before, suddenly became a pure thing that was "boring from within" to their heart's content. The Alliance fired this Federation pack. That was the "split." It was the split that takes place when you grab a rascal, and kick him out of the house. Of course, the rascal falls in with the other rascals where he belonged. (Great applause, hisses.)

I wish to dispose of another point. It is this: The claim that it was a great mistake on our part to start educating when we did and should have waited till we were "strong in the unions." Of course, there is one thing that he omitted to state in his course of misrepresenting my argument. He omitted to state that we should "not have started in with insisting that the men should vote for the S. L. P." That was not our line of work. What we wanted was to redeem them from capitalist influence on the economic field, so that they could have something right away. We should have waited till we were strong; that is, a man should wait till he can swim before he goes into the water. (Laughter.) Wait until all the men are converted to Socialism then start to educate them!! (Laughter.) We went into these unions, and when the labor fakir came there with capitalist propositions, we rose and tried to teach the rank and file. The rank and file—not through dishonesty, indeed not—the rank and file could not take our views; didn't dare to take our views, because in most of these unions there is a system of blackmail and browbeating that the labor leaders exercises upon the men. For the sake of keeping their jobs, for the sake of not losing their sick and death benefit advantages, the men caved in; and when the labor fakir gave the signal, those men voted as the labor fakir dictated. Finally, when we were driving the labor fakir to the corner the split came. The conscientious borers from within then landed on the outside, and have continued to bore from the outside, with the assistance of which alone can simultaneous boring from within be effective. On the other hand, those who stayed there, "preserving the full sympathy of these unions," what have they got to congratulate themselves with, except candy sticks, resolutions that mean nothing, resolutions for "collective ownership," resolutions this way and that way?—while in the meantime, every practical attempt on the part of the rank and file to improve itself continues to be run into the ground, the men divided among themselves, according as the capitalist interests of their various employers may dictate. (Great applause, hisses.)

Then I don't want any of it." That sort of argument is an insult.

Even if what is charged did happen at Davis's, it would be a wrongful act; it could not overthrow a principle. But (and our stenographer is present) those "facts" I here nail as absolutely false from beginning to end. There was no International Union at Davis's: IT WAS AN OPEN SHOP. His men were called out by the labor lieutenants of capital. (Applause and hisses.) Ah, hiss all you like. His men were called out by two members of the Organized Scaberry. Knowing these worthlessies, they voted against going out. It was not, in such cases, necessary to take a vote of the whole International Union. The shop crew decided not to strike; consequently there was no strike in the shop. A few indeed some of them, or many, went out under the threat of these labor lieutenants of capital that they would be scabs—so much the worse for their manliness. But the facts as they were presented here to-night are absolutely false.

The PEOPLE was quoted. When I said "I didn't say that," my words were twisted into one of his tricks. I presumed the gentleman claimed that I used that in my argument. Whatever is in the PEOPLE I stand by in every respect. But he didn't say anything after that to justify that quotation, and I wondered what was going to be all about.

He claimed that I did not come to the theory of the Alliance. The theory of the Alliance is that the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class—based upon those illustrations that I have furnished you from the large unions, not little, picayune, Teche unions that he tried to make you believe by quotations amount to something—that these lieutenants of labor prevent the rank and file from doing anything in their own behalf. I showed the degradation of the working class and their economic decline, notwithstanding a large trades union movement. And I showed you how did try to "bore from within," and how that failed; and I proved that their "boring from within" amounts to nothing but a pretense. Their "boring from within" means to "talk" Socialism. Oh, yes, send a man to a pure and simple trades union to "talk" Socialism in the abstract; he is welcome; that adds prestige of the Organized Scaberry that runs the union. But if a strike is started by the capitalists in that trade through their labor lieutenants, and they attempt to open your mouth and show the workingmen that they are being betrayed, why, that is something else—that would not be the "talking" of "abstract Socialism," that no one cares anything about, anymore. That hurts the Organized Scaberry. That is not tolerated. And the present "borers from within" "bore" by bowing in submission. We claim that it is the duty of the honest and energetic Socialists to call the attention of the masses to it every time they are being cheated. And we charge these borers from within, as we prove it now in the instance of the machinists, that in their papers they say not a word against it, on the contrary, they are whooping it up for the fakirs, as they did here to-night, claiming for an organization that it has millions of dollars when it has not got it; claiming for it to have \$8,000 members, when it has not got it; claiming for it a victory, which is a fraud, and a snare, and a delusion to the workers. Of course, such "borers from within" can be heard; of course, they will get resolutions in their behalf; but the rank and file of the workingmen will continue declining, urged on in their decline by the conduct of these so-called Socialists. The attitude of the Alliance is that the duty of the Socialist is to be with the working class in all its working-class endeavors, and that it is the bounden duty of every Socialist to have his voice heard clear, loud, emphatic—notwithstanding all the lies uttered against him; notwithstanding all the calumnies that Scaberry may hurl at his head—that they utter clearly what is going on and teach the working people what it is they are being run into doing; how, in each one of these cases, the working people are being used for food for cannon for the capitalist class.

We are told that upon that line little progress can be made. Well, I believe so, too, comparatively little, but we do not believe in a progress that is deceptive. We do not believe in progress except in progress that is progress. We do not believe in being able to say "so and so many unions have endorsed us," with over 50,000 members in New York, and coming out with a paltry seven or eight thousands votes. We do not believe (laughter and applause) that that is progress. On the contrary, we believe that whatever progress is made must be made by education.

I remember the time when the S. L. P. started its career on the political field. Among the very men who now denounce our trade union attitude were those who denounced us then for denouncing the Democratic and Republicans "too severely." We were "antagonizing the labor leaders!" A political party was established, and yet they did not want to have any "trouble," any "inconvenience." So I look now over their journals from beginning to end, and the rascality of the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class can be seen in all of their journals, without exception, to go by unrepented, uncondemned. Nay, worse: every time that the capitalist wants to run down the revolutionary pulse of the workingmen—run it into the ground, as in this case of the machinists, by telling hoary stories upon bogus "victories," thus repeating the language of the capitalist—every such time we find these "borers from within" acting as veritable hand-maids of these capitalists and of these labor lieutenants of capital.

The work may be slow; the work is arduous; but arduous, indeed, is the course of the Socialist movement. Arduous, indeed, is the course of the educator. The gentlemen, who talk and believe as Mr. Harriman, believe in an "education" that runs away from the people you ought to attack. They believe in an "education" that consists in whooping it up for the enemy. They believe in an "education" that helps the capitalist rivet ignorance upon the workingmen—that is the sort of "progress" that they believe in; that is the sort of "progress" or "education" that they advocate. Whereas the policy of the S. T. & L. A. is to go slow, gather these men in hold up the clear principle. If a wrong is done to a union if the rank and file is being deceived, why, then, even if that whole rank and file rises against you and denounces you, stand your ground; stand it—because the day will come when that rank and file will remember that YOU told them the truth; then, also, will they remember the men who "bored from within," who acted as prostitutes for the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. Then will you find progress; then will it come with rapid strides, for that real work would have been noted. Unless there is real work back of it, there is no progress worth mentioning.

For the rest, I can say that—unless some new argument is made; unless the gentleman has reserved for his next thirty minutes the real argument, that is to say, not the citing of exceptional cases, but arguments based upon general facts, to show how "boring from within" could make progress—I shall be able to withdraw from this debate, when it ends, satisfied that the cause of the S. T. & L. A. is the correct one. I have heard to-night identically what I have been hearing for the last four years. They first start with calumny upon calumny; one fellow invents it and the others recklessly repeat it. We mention the facts from their own journals; they shut their eyes to that. As to argument—they are remarkably silent.

The gentleman referred to a split in the S. T. & L. A. and I looked

surprised; and he was surprised at my surprise. (Laughter.) I did not imagine that he would put his spot into that hole. Yes, there was a "split." The Central Labor Federation, which he quoted here like a sweet morsel, had a souvenir. In that souvenir it printed advertisements of the capitalist parties during a campaign—very much like the other papers, or some of them in New York, of the "borers from within." Thereupon a noise was made against the man, Bohm, who, as secretary of the Federation, had charge of the souvenir, and was also general secretary of the S. T. & L. A. To go into these facts is almost painful, for the reason that it is time spent in stating things that every body should know by this time. The General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A. held up Bohm. His excuse was that he knew nothing about it, that his partner did it—which was possible; an honest man may be deceived by a wicked partner. We waited and said to him: "If, indeed, your partner cheated you, then you must separate from your partner p. d. c." We waited and waited, waited and waited. Then the Convention of the Alliance met, and I rose during that convention and asked him: "Are you still in partnership with that man?" At that convention, "borers from within" to-day, one man from Chicago, rose and objected to the question and Bohm refused to answer. Thereupon I voted "No" to his re-election as Secretary of the Alliance, together with his Central Labor Federation that backed him, having been branded there as really guilty of the crime of putting capitalist advertisements in a labor publication. Just as soon as he was branded, the "Volkszeitung" took him up with open arms and the Central Labor Federation which they denounced before, suddenly became a pure thing that was "boring from within" to their heart's content. The Alliance fired this Federation pack. That was the "split." It was the split that takes place when you grab a rascal, and kick him out of the house. Of course, the rascal falls in with the other rascals where he belonged. (Great applause, hisses.)

The other insult to you was to make out that I said that the rank and file were dishonest. Oh, what eloquence did we hear—regular pulpit eloquence on the subject. Clear enough I stated that the rank and file were earnest in their attempt to improve their condition, and they are surely honest in that desire. Who is there here who could have understood me otherwise, and that does not know that it could not possibly be imputed to me that I said that the rank and file were dishonest?

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crowded out because their wages had been lowered, and because a few months before. Why do I dwell upon this? Because Mr. De Leon said that everything I said concerning it was a lie. These statements that I have read from this affidavit, in request, to get an injunction against the trade union. And this is their theory in action! Their action is to crush the trade unions.

Now, the gentleman says that I referred to a few small unions. Why? I took Teche's union, his own union, that they speak of in their paper, but the Amalgamated Engineers why did I refer to them? Because it shows that even though you crush a union, whether the capitalist class crushes it, or whether by your tactics you are able temporarily to cheat some out of a victory, by partly organizing it, the conditions will reproduce that union. The conditions will reproduce that union, and you will never be able to make any headway unless you espouse the cause of the union, work in among them, gain their confidence, there to teach them the power they have in the ballot, instead of first creating of enemies and causing the rank and file to refuse to hear your doctrine concerning the philosophy of Socialism.

Now, before I close, when the gentleman tells you that he has proven so and so and so and so, you may remember whether he has proven so and so or not, and when he tells you that I have admitted this and have admitted that, you may know that I have not admitted anything at all; just as preacher oratory, you may tell him in your minds that that has nothing to do with the issue. When he tells you about France, when he tells you of Millerand and other statements concerning a multitude of issues we have no time to discuss here, ask him to discuss these papers for an injunction and why they went into the shop. (Applause.)

Remember that I admit nothing; remember that we must work with the working class and that we can only work with them by going into their battles, that we can only gain their confidence by espousing their cause, that we can only relieve the grip of those who are dishonest by educating the rank and file as to the problems of Socialism, and the measures to gain their end. I grant you, sir, that you will never learn so long as you stay out of the water (laughter and applause), and he confesses that he means to smash the unions, hundreds of thousands of them, with a little bit of an Alliance. Now look. Is it best to smash the trade unions, and then go and gather up all the pieces when they are mad, and then convince them of Socialism, and then get them into the S. T. & L. A.? How much more could you go among them without making them mad, espouse their cause, convince them of Socialism, don't have to gather up the pieces, and cause them to take action along independent political lines. Have not the labor fakirs that speaks of, if they are there—and some of them are there, just as they are in all organizations—wherever power concentrates, there corruption develops to a certain extent—get out of the union, do not give those men a new lease of life? Go in and educate your men, do you not educate those who are dishonest? It was different in our policy. That

is what has divided us; that is what is dividing these men here to-night: that is what leaves him on one side and us on the other.

I call no names: we will let the facts do the talking; and ask the question why do you fight the trades unions except to smash them, and what are you to gain by smashing them, when you must get the men that are now in the unions to get into Socialism before you can possibly inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth? You have got to get those very men. You are now fighting their organizations. If you can convince them at one time you can convince them in their union. I say the policy of the Social Democratic Party, as opposed to the policy of the S. L. P., is to go into the trade unions, work with them, and, mark you, add to the strike and the boycott independent political action; and I have shown to you that it is possible to do both by arguments taken from their own discussion, and by the constitutions of trade unions that I have pointed out to you. (Applause.)

DE LEON.—Mr. Harriman asked why did he take up this cigarmakers' case. He took up the case of the cigarmakers for the simple reason that he has wanted to turn this debate, which is upon a question of principle, into a concrete case, coming here with "affidavits." He has taken up that case, because he has pursued the policy of trying to falsify a principle by taking up one concrete case, and since his principle is untenable, he must hang on to that concrete case all he can. In trying to do that, even his concrete case, being false, breaks in his hands, as any man who has followed him closely must have observed. (Hisses.) He claimed that I pronounced false all that he said in connection with Davis's shop. I did not. All that was material I pronounced false or a fraud upon you. The duplicity of his argument can't have escaped you.

He said in one place when he first spoke, that the affidavit of Davis was backed up by Alliance men; after he read the names, he contradicted himself and said, "I do not know whether these are Alliance men or not," and later again he repeated the false statement that Davis's affidavit was backed by Alliance men. He contradicted himself three times.

The whole point turns on this: The Davis shop was AN OPEN SHOP, (that affidavit shows nothing to the contrary). There can be contracts with men who are not members of a union. The Davis shop was an open shop, that open shop was called out by two representatives of the International Union, and those of you who understand this point will comprehend that the whole argument which has been built upon the false situation that the shop was an International Union shop fails. As the shop was a non-union shop, or an open shop, the International Union had no control. It tried to get control by calling the shop out, and may or may not have applied for a strike allowance, for a strike permit, a strike license—I forget now what they call it. But you perceive the quibble. My opponent tried to make out, from the fact that a strike permit had been applied for at the International headquarters, that therefore the Davis shop was a union shop. This is fraudulent reasoning intended to deceive you.

That one thing, that many of them went out, notwithstanding they decided not to strike, is one of the misfortunes of the situation: the moment the Organized Scaberry says the word "scab" every coward trembles in his boots. All that was read from this affidavit can only have the object to mix you up. The position is simply this: There was no union organization there. It was not controlled by the International Union, and that was the claim he made all along, the point that he dishonestly tried to insinuate in your minds, and without which he has no case, even this Davis side-issue, with which he has tried to cover his rout on the real issue, the question of principles.

He has quoted the constitution of the International Union. What of it? That's only some more dust. The union constitution says all that; but all that applies only in case the shop is a union shop, Davis's shop was not a union shop, so that all that argument fails again.

All such quotations have but one purpose, the dishonest one of twisting an argument awry, and running away from the question of the evening. The dishonesty is all the more glaring by the attempts to back it up by what we are told is an affidavit. What matters it what Davis, a capitalist, swore to in order to secure an injunction? I'm not surprised my opponent falls back on such "documents." He is one of a crew, thirty-six of whom, in a vain attempt to steal the name of the Socialist Labor Party, SWORE to the truthfulness of an affidavit that was not in existence. (Hisses.) I should not have to insist upon the point, unless you are fools, which you do not look to be.

I charged him with having quoted little unions, whereupon he quotes the big "International Machinists" in rebuttal, and says what a big union that is. You know very well that I said upon the subject that he quoted the little union of Teche as an argument, within our ranks, why our members should remain officers of pure and simple unions. On the contrary, just the reversal of what he falsely said, I said that the unions that I quoted were the large unions, I named him the International Union which he himself quoted, as one of the large organizations: but, as I say, such petty tricks and such duplicity I should not have to go into very extensively.

He said that the Central Federation—that's what he called it—split off because it could no longer endorse my tactics. Correct. Our tactics are that a labor paper must not have capitalist advertisements in it; their tactics are different. And since the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" itself has had during campaigns advertisements of capitalist politicians, consequently the tactics of the Federation agreed exactly with the tactics of those who would bore from within, and they made common cause. (Applause and hisses.)

I was asked how much I got for the "Davis job." I noticed that our chairman was shocked. (Hisses.) I will not refer to that any further than to say that when a person takes up an argument the way that my opponent did, and then fixes himself on a long affidavit that can not be debated, let alone verified, in a large crowd, a document that a person would have to take home with him to study—when a person tries that

game (hisses), I believe I should be justified to ask—not of him, such persons I cannot stoop to address—I believe I should be justified to ask: "How much did he get from the Organized Scaberry of the International Union to help deceive the workers?" (Great applause; hisses; De Leon steps forward and pointing to a corner from whence the hisses came) Hiss away. I have faced worse crowds of fakirs. You cannot deter me. It is not to this meeting alone that I am speaking. I am addressing to-night millions of workers. This debate is being taken down stenographically, and will be published in full. (Great applause.)

Some of the statements and arguments which the gentleman made are characteristic, inasmuch as they betray his absolute ignorance of the Labor Movement. Apart from his not even knowing the names of the organizations that he mentioned, he made this argument. He said: "Why, go into these unions, then you can speak to the workingmen." Which means that outside of the unions there are no workingmen: it can mean that or nothing. Now outside of the unions stand the overwhelming majority of the workingmen; and they do not propose to go into these organizations run by the Organized Scaberry, because they have burned their fingers there enough. (Great applause.) The organization of the future has to be built up out of the men who are now unorganized, and that is the overwhelming majority of the workingmen in the nation. Of course that he doesn't know. (Suckles.)

He says we want to smash the unions with a little bit of an Alliance. That is like what the heelers and the politicians have told me: "You want to smash the large Republican and Democratic parties with a little bit of a Socialist Labor Party." (Laughter and applause.)

Finally he boasts of their "political success." When he quotes the late political campaign, he puts his foot into it badly. In the Sixteenth Assembly District of New York himself with the rest of them went there and carried on a most virulent campaign upon this very line of trade unionism against us, and the result of it was that, despite the unparalleled hacking that they had of the capitalist press, their candidate for the presidency polled just about 200 votes, while ours polled over 800. (Applause); and their candidate for Assembly fell even below 200 votes, while myself, whom they have done the honor of imputing all the virtues of this movement to, and assailed proportionately, polled over 1,500 votes. That is an endorsement, emphatic too, of the S. T. & L. A. policy. (Great applause.)

This closed the debate. It was 10:30 p.m., and the chairman declared the meeting adjourned.

[A certain amount of liberty the stenographer was compelled to take in transcribing Mr. Harriman's two speeches. As Mr. Harriman is an illiterate man, a faithful transcription of his sentences would have made them look full of typographical errors. His grammatical mistakes were, accordingly, eliminated.]

GROWTH OF SOCIALISM.

INITIATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT.

Leaders Which Helped—The Intellectual Side—Obstacles Which Had to Be Overcome—Results of the Wars in Which the Nation Figured.

From 1848 to 1864 there was little sign of a Socialist movement of an international character, and although Lasalle's vigorous agitation in Germany, which began in 1862, produced a great effect in that country, no serious attempt was made to organize a general combination of Socialists until two years later. In November, 1864, a meeting was held in London which laid the foundation of the International Working Men's Association. Karl Marx was the brain of the movement, which soon spread to every civilized country and occasioned grave uneasiness to the Courts and Cabinets of Europe. The International in effect proclaimed the "solidarity" of interest between the workers of nations, and called upon them to unite under to obtain control of the means of production, including the land, in every country; its leaders declared also that the war between classes in each state was a real matter of importance to the working class, which everywhere suffered from the oppression of the classes above, but therefore they should sink national differences in a great international struggle for the emancipation of the workers. These ideas obtained more ready acceptance in Germany than elsewhere, as might have been expected from the superior education of the German working classes and from the fact that the heads of the movement were Germans; but up to the date of the declaration of war between France and Germany the International had failed to become a most important body, and to combine the proletariat in a really formidable movement over Europe.

When the war was over Paris found that though she had got rid of the Emperor, with his gang of professional gamblers and prostitutes, France was to be taxed over to the exploitation of a republican Republic. The Parisians, therefore, resenting this mean substitution, made an attempt to secure perfect commercial independence before admitting the troops from without. The movement was at first necessarily in middle-class hands, and the Socialists of Paris were warned by the leaders of the International that as a simultaneous rising in Berlin, Vienna, Madrid, &c., had been impossible to arrange, failure was certain. The French Socialists were impressed at this prediction and set to work to discredit its authors. But, when the Commune had once been set on foot, it soon became clear that Paris was destined to be the scene of another bloody, but again, for the time, fruitless campaign of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Yet the champions of that cause alone showed unfaltering resolution and dauntless courage in the face of danger and in the face of death.

Paris was to a large extent injured by the attacks of the troops, and partly by the action of the beaten forces of the insurgents; but the horrors of the cold-blooded massacre which followed, the infamous misdeeds of the Versailles troops, with such monsters as Giglioli at their head, and the fearful scenes on the plain of Batory have educated almost all memory of the errors of the vanquished. Once more "order" rose in place of the law government for the many that Paris had ever seen. Throughout the world today the remembrance of that fearful struggle and defeat strengthens the determination of the real-leaders of the proletarian revolution.

From that date forward organized Socialism has made way against many difficulties, the apathy of Englishmen having largely contributed to check any re-commencement of the international movement.

What we have to face now is a bitter class antagonism between the classes who own the means of production which they use to enslave their fellows to those means of production and the laborers who are thus economically and socially

enslaved. With these laborers must be numbered a large portion of the lowest middle-class who practically depend upon and are a portion of the proletariat, certain of the intellectual proletariat, clerks, &c., who are learning how they are being exploited themselves by their employers, and the domestic servants, whose servile, degraded position will be felt more and more as education spreads. Here is the last class antagonism, which indeed is world-wide—the antagonism of the slaves of the machine, the mere social engines for producing surplus value and contributing to luxury, against the capitalist class and their hangers-on, the landlords. All other antagonisms, complicated as they were, have now faded into this one simple unmistakable hostility of clearly defined industrial interests between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Proletarian production—capitalist appropriation: workers make—traders take. Socialised production: individual exchange. Work in concert: exchange at war. Supremacy of town: subservience of country. Overcrowded cities: empty fields. Such are the briefest possible statements of the economical and social forms which result in our present anarchy, not for one class alone, though that suffers far the most, but for all. And the system, as a whole, is now world-wide, though in different shapes. Capital dominates the planet, acts irrespective of all nationalities, grabs its profits irrespective of all creeds and conditions; capital is international, unsectarian, destitute of regard for humanity or religion. The proletarians must learn from the system which they have to overthrow to be equally indifferent to class, creed or color, religion or nationality, so long as the individuals sink their personal objects in a resolute endeavour against the common enemy. Unite! for this we educate, to this end we agitate, to achieve a certain victory for all we organize. Unite! Unite! Unite!

But we are all only working in a great economic movement, which we can help in some degree to advance or retard, but which will proceed whatever we do to push on or hinder. The very conditions of production are bringing about changes in spite of the efforts of the capitalist class itself. It has been found necessary to use the power of the State more and more to check the unbridled greed of the classes who confiscate labor. Even the middle-class debating club at Westminster, which passes muster as the English House of Commons, has found itself compelled by the exigencies of the case to interpose between the employers and their wage-slaves, between the Irish landlords and their serfs, between adulterating poisoners and their victims. The domain of laissez-faire, the hideous realm of misrule, has been invaded year by year by the State, controlled though it is by the oppressing classes, because some steps were absolutely essential to save the mass of the population from utter physical, moral and intellectual deterioration.

Education Acts, Irish Land Acts, Employers' Liability Acts, Factory Acts, Artisans' Dwellings Acts, &c., these and others, are direct evidence of the tendency to limit that unrestrained free competition so dear to the capitalist slave driver of modern times. They are but half-way measures at best. What may easily be taken by them when enacted, administered and applied by the very classes which according to the debased estimate of the sires and pleasers of life commonly held among those classes themselves, have most to lose by a thorough reorganisation? But their very appearance on the Statute Book proves that the era of middle-class rule and the period of working class apathy are alike coming to an end.

The fear of the pressure from without of a threatening kind lents the luxurious classes to try to negotiate. Bankrupt of ideas, destitute of principles, their one endeavor is to compromise on favorable terms. But for us no compromise is possible which shall carry with it the continuance of the present misery.

Yet again we see the power of the State extending. It organises as well as orders, develops as well as restrains. This, too, in despite of huckster economists, whose principal professors are forced to eat their own words as administrators and to stuffy their teaching as thinkers, but used for instead of against the mass of production, with machinery ever improving by the genius of their fellows, but shear pressure of the course of events.

At this hour the State is by far the largest employer of labor in the kingdom. The Post Office, the Telegraphs, the Parcels Post, the State Banks, the Armaments, the Dockyards, the Clothing Establishment, the Army and Navy, are all managed by the State, and administered by the State officials, who organise the labor below. The objection of the system is not inefficiency nor even extravagance, but the fact that those who labor are brought into competition with the lowest wages outside; and that the profits of their production or distribution are used by the State to reduce the taxation which has to be paid by the middle-class.

We call the attention of the working men voters of Salem to the fact that the question of wages is the most important one to the working class.

Wages is the price of his labor-power that the workingman is compelled to sell to the capitalist, and is regulated by the law of supply and demand like any other piece of merchandise. It therefore follows, that with the increasing invention of machinery and the formation of trusts, which displace workingmen, both the supply of labor is increased and the demand for labor is diminished, causing wages to fall continually lower and lower.

We also call attention to the fact that labor applied to the resources of nature is the source of all wealth. Those who supply their labor to the production of wealth, the working class, are entitled to the full product of their toil, and the capitalists, who perform no useful work, are entitled to nothing.

The capitalist class is able to hold the working class in bondage by owning the means of production and distribution (the land, mills, shops, factories, railroads, etc.). Also by controlling the political power of city, state and nation.

It matters not which branch of the

MUNICIPAL PLATFORM

Of the Socialist Labor Party of Salem, Mass.

MUNICIPAL DEMANDS.

THE REPUBLICAN BRANCH, THE DEMOCRATIC BRANCH OR THE INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES—ALL ARE CAPITALISTIC AND ALL USE THE COURTS, THE POLICE AND THE MILITARY FOR THE PURPOSE OF KEEPING THE WORKERS IN SUBJECTION. THEY ALSO CONTROL THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND TEACH FALSE ECONOMICS, FALSE PATRIOTISM, FALSE MORALS TO THE YOUNG TO JUSTIFY THEIR POSITION.

We know that the working class cannot gain its full emancipation by carrying the election in a town or a city; in fact, not until we carry the whole country, but meanwhile much can be done to relieve the misery and suffering of the workers by controlling the municipal government.

Our candidates if elected, pledge themselves to push the following:

SOCIALISTS CONQUER OFFICE.

They Do Not Make Bargains With Capitalist Interests.

We clip the following from the Los Angeles "Record":

"The Socialist Labor nominees have made answer to the committee of safety on the subject of the appointment of a police commission, should the nominees be successful at the approaching city election. The answer, like a foghorn on a dark and storm-swept coast, speaks for itself."

Los Angeles, Nov. 21, 1900.
J. S. Stauson, Chairman Committee of Safety:

Dear Sir: We the nominees of the Socialist Labor Party for councilmen of this city, take this opportunity to acknowledge receipt of your communication, asking us to pledge ourselves to vote for a board of police commissioners to be selected by said committee of safety, in order that the board may be taken out of political and plunder wish all restraints removed.

Now, sir, we beg to state that the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party never make bargains or compromise with capitalistic interests. We are a party of workingmen, whose mission it is to fight the battles of labor. We believe in every one holding office from president to dogcatcher being elected by the people, and under no circumstances would we agree to the bestowal to any set or individuals of more power than they at present possess.

Such power, we know full well, would be used for the benefit of the capitalist class and to the detriment of the working class. The abuse of power is bad enough now and, with the memory fresh in our minds of Pullman, Wardner, the Bull Pen, etc., where the workers have been shot and clubbed into submission, we prefer to let things remain as they are, until the working class come to a full realization of their power and their duty to each other, and vote themselves into possession of the government.

Our ultimate mission is the establishment of the Socialist republic, when we capture the national power and, if elected to municipal office to fight the battles of labor as far as our power will allow us.

Our slogan is: "The working class may they always be right, but first, last, and all the time the working class."

To emphasize the solidarity of our aspirations, we prefer to sign ourselves collectively and individually.

Candidates of the Socialist Labor Party for the city council of Los Angeles:

S. I. Cooper, nominee First Ward.
W. T. Skinner, nominee Second Ward.
Geo. Anderson, nominee Fourth Ward.
Wm. H. Smith, nominee Fifth Ward.
J. O. Becker, nominee Sixth Ward.
D. W. Kershaw, nominee Seventh Ward.

Adolph Weinberg, nominee Eighth Ward.
Sylvan Todd, nominee Ninth Ward.

The Social Democrats of Boston made nominations for several offices, and they seem almost like descriptions of the dead. Several of the nominees were members of the Socialist Labor Party years and years ago. They fell by the wayside, unable to keep pace with the development of the movement and now they have been resurrected to stand the heat and fire of a political campaign. It is not only desecration it is a crime. When you read the list of names it is like going through an obituary report of old times. The last one died in 1894 and was buried some time before he ever died. In his reincarnation he followed Bryan; then he

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1898 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1890.....	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	63,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564
In 1898.....	82,204
In 1899.....	85,231



We have bailed a few industrial lepers, and we shall bail more before the year is out. The party has in reality cut its wisdom teeth, and the wisdom teeth have cut a few fingers that were where they should not be.

FRANK MACDONALD.

This issue contains a verbatim stenographic report of the debate on Trade Unionism, that took place last Sunday in New Haven, Ct., between a representative of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, or New Trade Unionism, and a representative of Pure and Simple, or Old Style Trade Unionism.

No serious man, engaged in the Labor Movement, can afford to leave this report unread and unstudied.

The presentation, though narrowed into a two hours' debate, is complete. It places clearly the manly, necessary attitude of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, together with the history of Unionism back of it, and it portrays to perfection both the imbecility of its adversaries and the fraudulence of their posture.

The debate furnishes the completest photograph yet produced of the Trades Union Issue. By bringing both sides in juxtaposition, each supplements the other, and both are best understood.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Never yet has the annual performance, known as the "President's Message," reached the depth or the height of hypocrisy that did McKinley's message, read the other day before Congress. One is accustomed to hear rehearsed in these performances the trite phrases about the country's grandeur, the liberty of our people, the happiness of our working class, the industry of our idle or Capitalist Class;—to all this one has grown accustomed, attaching no more importance to it than to the commonplaces of civility that are uttered even among people on unfriendly terms. But yesterday's performance outdoes all that has hitherto been done of late upon this line.

The President's message rightly gives the right of way to operations in China and the Philippine Islands. And yet, after opening with two such points, that mark a complete subversion of the country's policy, the message brazenly closes with this passage:

"Our growing power brings with it temptations and perils requiring constant vigilance to avoid. It must not be used to invite conflicts nor for oppression, but for the more effective maintenance of those principles of equality and justice upon which our institutions and happiness depend. Let us keep always in mind that the foundation of our government is liberty; its superstructure peace."

The serving of the devil in God's livery has many exemplifications; never yet, however, was the vile performance exhibited in such unblushing style, upon such an elevated stage, or by so exalted an actor.

To the tune of pretending to warn against the "abuse of power," the national invasion of two distant and weak peoples is commended; to the tune of avoiding deeds of oppression, military operations are favored, intended only to subjugate unwilling nations; to the tune of peace, the war-drum is beaten; to the tune of liberty the chains of vast empire are forged! Now is this all. To the tune of "justice," our products are to be rammed down the throats of unwilling purchasers; to the tune of "our happiness," broad fields are to be opened, whence the already overstocked Labor

Market at home will be swollen by millions of additional competitors; to the tune of "equality," the foundation is laid to intensify the economic inequality that already plagues us at home!

The "President's Message" having reached this notch, what dizzy height of perfidy can be henceforth expected from that quarter?

THEY SCENT EACH OTHER.

Mr. Robert Fulton Cutting, president of the Citizens' Union, issued last Wednesday a political proclamation. In it occurs this passage:

"France has recently given us a splendid object-lesson of selfish public spirit exhibited in an extraordinary coalition. When the nation was trembling on the brink of the abyss of military despotism, a republican lawyer, a Royalist general and a leading Socialist united to save the state, and their splendid initiative created a patriotic revival strong enough to accomplish the purpose. When we are ready to follow their example and to add a positive programme to united front, the redemption of the city will be easy. If we would win response, we must discard the trifling expedient of endeavoring to arouse public sentiment by appealing to the tax rate, and base our call to arms upon broad progressive grounds. What the people demand is not retrenchment, but growth; not reform, but progress. Discarding one negative issue, the anti-imperial, anti-silver, anti-trust, yes, even anti-boss, we must adopt a great positive programme, 'pro bono publico.'"

Who will henceforth deny the existence of a strong elective affinity in social and political movements, as well as among chemical substances?

Millerand, claiming to be a Socialist, accepts a job at the hands of Premier Waldeck-Rousseau, a capitalist; and forthwith proceeds to earn his spurs as just the kind of Socialist fit too, for the distinction of a seat in a capitalist cabinet, by taking his share of responsibility for, thereby approving, the conduct of the cabinet in shooting down workingmen on strike. Mr. Robert Fulton Cutting, a gentleman, whose tenement houses on Cherry street were in such condition that even the Board of Health could not stand them, and had to order them torn down as a menace and nuisance;—these two worthies scent each other across the ocean, and coalesce.

"Pro bono publico" means different things in different mouths. By its fruit the Socialist is known. So, likewise, is the "publico," that is meant each time, ascertained by those from whose mouths it drops. With a Millerand, the "public" whose welfare is sought, can surely not be the workingmen, who, seeking higher wages, are shot down at the command or with the consent of the cabinet. With a Robert Fulton Cutting, the public whose welfare is to be sought can assuredly not be the workers for whom squalid tenements are provided and from whom the rent is extorted for such unsanitary quarters. The "public" with both gentlemen can only mean and be the idle class of capitalism, the brigand class that fleeces the workers.

And that is all it means. We are living in the days of capitalism, and there are just two nations in which capitalism may be properly studied. They are America and France. Other countries may have reached a high capitalist development in industry, but their forms of government still savor of the feudal and thus preserve some principles of self-respect. In America and France alone, the breath of capitalism has invaded the government as well as the shop. Accordingly, in these two nations alone is the phenomenon of the chicanery, practiced by the capitalist in the shop, visible in his political dealings also. The counterpart of the adulteration of goods, practiced by the capitalist in production, is the adulteration of political issues, practiced by the capitalist in government. Thus it happens that capitalism in France and America adulterates its political issues. Instead of bluntly stating what it stands for, it conceals itself behind expressions that are in public favor. Thus it happens that an older and raw-boned deceiver of the workers in America, like Robert Fulton Cutting, falls in line with the modern French capitalist governmental trick. "Socialism" becomes a dear word with him, and "pro bono publico" a first rate ingredient to foist his shoddy political product upon the public.

These are the days that crave wary political walking. Never was it more important than now to look behind phrases and ascertain facts. As a Cutting in America scents across the waters a Millerand in France, recognizes his kin, and adopts his methods, so, likewise, must the working class of America recognize its kin in the well-drilled, class-conscious hosts of the French Socialist Labor Party (Parti Ouvrier Francais), and stand alert as stands this French organization.

PRINCIPLE VS. FLY-PAPER.

Eugene V. Debs did not draw as well as we expected. Sure it is, however, that he drew more votes than any other candidate whom our party could have set up.—Milwaukee, Wis., "Warheit" (Socialist Democrat).

Correct! The admission herein contained, tho' tardy, loses none of its weight.

Which is why we say, and our lan-

guage is plain, that, whatever the poll of the Social Democracy, that vote was not given to a principle, least of all to Socialism; and, what is more, that, in setting up Mr. Debs, his "party" looked not to principle; it looked to votes; and, in order to catch these, it was guided in its choice of candidate by his fly-paper qualities exclusively.

No one, approximately posted on current events, is for a moment deceived upon the Social Democracy. Its organization is known to be made up of the flotsam and jetsam of "reform" and kindred movements that have periodically sprung up in the land for the last twenty years or more, together with a goodly sprinkling of vicious schemers who found the Socialist Labor Party too "narrow" and too "intolerant" to be practiced upon, and were fired out. The organization of this concern—split up from its inception under two hostile headquarters—clearly patented the material it was made of. The circumstance that, despite this glaring evidence of absence of principle and of freakish ambition, it claimed to be the "United Socialists," added light to this leading feature of the concern.

The individuals who compose such a body have but one common point of contact. That is, the Scheme; the more or less unhallowed Scheme. To encompass their Schemes they must have a big vote. Accordingly they "pool their issues," and, as a result of all this, the standard bearers they set up must partake of fly-paper qualities.

Mr. Debs was expected to fill the bill admirably. He was "lovely,"—the sentimentalists were expected to vote for him. He was a "martyr,"—the gullible were expected to votinely worship him. He was recitatively poetic,—the dreamers were expected to plump their votes for him. He was "all things to all men,"—the unwary were expected to be corralled wholesale at the hustings. Socialism was the last thing considered. With all these fly-paper qualities, Mr. Debs distanced all competitors in the race, and got the nomination. He was expected to "run" like a racer. "At least one million votes!" exclaimed his train carriers, now his pall-bearers, and they meant "at least two millions!" Indeed, they needed them. Small votes no longer suffice for schemers. No wonder the actual vote—considerably below 100,000—has chilled the schemers' ardor (read expectations.)

With the wrangle now going on among the schemers, as betrayed by the quotation that heads this article, we have no concern. Let one set claim they had a better fly-paper candidate, and another set give the fly-paper palm to Debs. What interests the country is the proof, gleaned at this election, that fly-paper candidates have lost their drawing power. The country is growing wise. The flies are growing appallingly few.

To PRINCIPLE not FLY-PAPER, is the future reserved. Like Truth, PRINCIPLE may gain ground slowly, but it gains ground, and ultimately yields sway; FLY-PAPER, on the contrary, wears out speedily, and is cast into the ash barrel of Time.

WE THE PEOPLE DWINDLINGLY UNITING.

Recent reports from Chicago are tart reading. They tell of "all day mass meetings" held by all the Socialist forces for the purpose of "uniting" and leading the "united people" in a triumphant municipal campaign to be opened right away, if not sooner. These events awakened timely reminiscences in being awakened, the reminiscences incidentally cast valuable, betraying light upon the Social Democratic vote in Chicago last November 6.

It was late in the summer of '94. The "people" ("leading Socialists") were said to be prominent among them, had just behind them the presidential campaign of '92. In that year the leader of the "people" (the "leading Socialists" included), had polled 22,207 votes in Illinois, of which 1,614 had been contributed by Cook County (Chicago). This was not much of a popular showing for the "people," but it was something.

When the latter part of the summer of '94 was in sight, the "people," the "united people," among them, of course, the inevitable "Socialist luminaries and forces," foregathered again. They were to make a second effort. The occasion was considered most favorable. The American Railway Union, with Mr. Debs as the leader and martyr, had just had its great strike, which the Federal troops and the courts had smashed. Chicago had been the theater of the affair. If sentiment could weld the "people," "all classes," the "Socialist leaders and forces" together—that was the time. One Remond was set up for State Treasurer—and off the "united unities" started. Particularly active was the campaign in Chicago. On one occasion, one of the inevitable "Socialist leaders," and a "force" in himself,—a gentleman whose anatomy, drooping eye-lid and inflated paunch, forcibly recalls the frog in the fable that exploded in the attempt to blow himself into the size of an ox—put a trumpet to his mouth,

and addressed a large meeting with the words, "We are the people." Election day came and the Weaver vote was nearly tripled in the State. Randolph polled 59,793 votes towards which Cook county alone contributed 33,908. There was disappointment. A much larger vote was expected. The "united people" did not seem to flock excessively. But there was consolation in the thought that Socialist Labor Party had never reached that notch.

The third stage in the development was a painful experience—to the visionaries. It was two years later. The "united people" were wiped out. By an absorbed them taking Debs along with him. Above the wreck there remained only the Socialist Labor Party, with a small vote of 1,147, it is true, yet firm and unperturbed.

The fourth stage was reached last campaign. The "harmonizers" again pulled together. All sorts of excuses were given for the melting away of the "unitedness" four years ago, and a number of reasons were given why: this trip, the showing of the "united people" would be tremendous: In the first place, Debs himself was running; that meant a start, in Chicago alone, with the 33,908 votes of '94. In the second place, the "Socialists were united," the S. L. P. being said to have fused with the Social Democracy. (This was said without a blush.) In the third place, the Republican papers were bombing Debs for all they were worth, puffing up his prospective vote. Upon all these grounds, the "united forces" felt confident. Election day made them all feel and look as if they had chills and fever. The Debs vote in all Illinois was only 9,672,—more than 24,000 less than the "united people's" vote of 394 in Cook county and over 50,000 votes less than in the whole State!

The performance now reported as taking place in Chicago to "unite" once more, and once more gather the "whole people," may be understood by the light of the above antecedents. Nor do the performers, fail to contribute their cleams to appreciate such performances. There is no unity of forces possible—at least nor for serious and honorable results—with phrases as a basis. The nucleus for any unity worth the name, in Chicago as elsewhere, is the soundly poised, intrepid and untiring Socialist Labor Party. Whoever, whatever fits there is unitable,—and will eventually be unitable; whatever does not fit there is UN-unitable, and, all glue phrases to the contrary notwithstanding, will never gather but to scatter.

Rainbowchasing can never start from solid ground; neither can rainbowchasers ever hold together.

DEATH-BED CONSULTATIONS.

It has passed into a proverb that special sessions of Congress denote a weak administration. When an administration is strong, when it feels itself safe in the saddle, it can afford to wait for the regular time when Congress convenes. When, on the contrary, the administration feels the ground under it shaky, and does not rely upon its own nerve, then it needs Congress to lean upon, to throw at least part of the responsibility on, and to put things into shape. Such an administration hastens to convene Congress in special session.

In a country where, like this, government is by party, the conduct of parties reflects the motives that guide government itself. What is going on now among the "minor parties" is, accordingly, of no minor importance. One may judge their sense of safety, their sense of conscious ascendancy by their own conduct.

Among the minor parties the Prohibition party may be ignored from the start. It is in no way a child of our American social or political life. It is a political abortion, a cross between Bible misquotations and capitalist hypocrisy. There remain the Socialist Labor Party, the Social Democracy, with headquarters in Chicago, the Social Democracy, with headquarters in Springfield, Mass., the Populist Party, the Silver Republicans, and the Middle-of-the-Roaders.

How are these conducting themselves? With a single exception, they are all calling for special conventions. Both wings of the Social Democracy, the Populists, the Silver Republicans, the Middle-of-the-Roaders, each of them, while boasting of "great success," gives the evidence of great shakiness in its anxiety for a national convention, to be held as soon as possible, if not sooner.

The exception to this tell-tale behavior on the part of the minor parties is the Socialist Labor Party. It alone is not bothering about special national conventions. Like administrations that feel perfectly safe and strong, and that, consequently, care not to convene Congress in special session, but abide the regular time, the Socialist Labor Party serenely pursues its course; it does not indulge in hysterics; its conventions are left to occur in the regular order; and, in the meantime, it carries on its work, uninterruptedly.

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"Tis not the votes cast or polled; 'tis

not the claims made; 'tis not the oratory and declamations indulged in that serve as a test of a political body's confidence in itself. The test is the principles on which it stands, the tactics that it pursues, the character of its organization. And among the manifestations of this test is the body's conduct after the battle. The nervous craving for conventions, manifested by all these minor parties, except the Socialist Labor Party, immediately after election betrays the fact that one and all lack confidence in themselves. And well they may. Neither their principles nor their tactics nor yet the character of their organization is of a nature to inspire them with confidence. Feeling the ground shaky under them each wants company. Hence that novellest of sights, several of them wanting to hold conventions in common!

While the "United" (Socialists?) and kindred reformers, who are looking for short cuts across lots, are losing themselves in the woods and seek to keep themselves in countenance by wild halloons, the Socialist Labor Party looks down at the set and wonders how long it will be before these would-be teachers of the people will themselves learn the A B C's of the Social Question.

EXPLOITING BLUNDERS.

The following squib occurs in the New York "Evening Post":

"By actual experience the Ruskinites, a colony of Socialists, which was transported some time ago from Tennessee to a site near Waycross, Ga., have demonstrated what is probably the lowest possible daily cost for food. They live at an actual cost per capita of less than ten cents a day."

Time and again lively people have risen and lectured the Socialist Labor Party on its severity and intolerance. These lectures were especially reproachful on the subject of the Party's attitude towards the so-called co-operative colonies, the Ruskin colony among the rest. The above squib, published in a capitalist paper—a rifle-dict to the workers' paper—should serve as an ample justification to the Party's attitude.

Colonies are actual denials of Socialism: Socialism is banked upon integral co-operation.—Colonies build upon a basis so narrow that their co-operation is a caricature of the term: Socialism builds upon collective work and individual living.—Colonies build upon collective living; Socialism builds upon full enjoyment of material and intellectual wealth, an enjoyment abreast of the racial needs of the Nineteenth Century.

Colonies as the above passage sneeringly imputes to Socialism, build upon a basis so narrow that their co-operation is a caricature of the term: Socialism builds upon collective work and individual living; Colonies build upon collective living; Socialism builds upon full enjoyment of material and intellectual wealth, an enjoyment abreast of the racial needs of the Nineteenth Century.

It is a feature of sentimental Socialism, not from the class struggle side, but from the sentimental side; not from the practical side of production, but from the bourgeois side of consumption: every such person inevitably slides back and down into a position where, instead of aiding, he hampers Socialist thought; instead of weakening, he strengthens the arm of the spokesmen of Capitalism.

Among the minor parties the Prohibition party may be ignored from the start. It is in no way a child of our American social or political life. It is a political abortion, a cross between Bible misquotations and capitalist hypocrisy. There remain the Socialist Labor Party, the Social Democracy, with headquarters in Chicago, the Social Democracy, with headquarters in Springfield, Mass., the Populist Party, the Silver Republicans, and the Middle-of-the-Roaders.

How are these

CORRESPONDENCE.

Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.

"Geosmargin Socialists."

TO THE DAILY PEOPLE.—The above title has been given to the Debates here in Lynn. The local branch of the Social Debasing party has split up into three different factions. To begin with: They declared a boycott on the Social Democratic Herald of Chicago, and you cannot obtain a copy of that paper in Lynn for love or money. The English "Volkzeitung" of New York acts as their official organ. One of the local factions is headed by a Dr. Keon, and calls itself the "United Socialists" (God save the mark). A lobbyist by the name of Hitchcock heads the Carey faction, the armory builders. He is a middle class man and runs a restaurant, or "free" lunch counter. He has charge of a column in the "News." That paper is their local official organ and they boom and advertise it for all they are worth. It gives whole columns to their meetings and publishes the pictures of their candidates for office. This paper, which is one of God's smallest, cheapest, and dirtiest creatures never lets a chance pass without misrepresenting the only bona fida class-conscious workingmen's party in the United States, the Socialist Labor Party. The "News" was originally a Republican paper but it was purchased a few weeks ago by a Democratic druggist. An editorial appeared in the "Boston Record" a few days ago and the "News" undertook to answer it. I give you below the articles:

"When the Clevelands, Whitneys, Hewitts et al., reorganize the Democratic party and take up the reins of leadership, there'll be a tremendous landslide" from that party to the party of Debs. Paste this in your political hat.—Boston Record (Republican.)

This is the most truthful statement that the Record ever made. With the above mentioned men at the head, the Democratic party will be the Republican party junior. The real and only hope for the Democrats is in the Social Democratic—Lynn News (Democrat).

Fellow workingmen paste this in your political hat, you must organize into a class-conscious body, go to the polls on election day and vote for your class interest, for your families, and for yourselves. Throw overboard the Democratic parties, and their decoy ducks, like the Social Debasing party. "He who would be free himself, must strike the blow." God speed the day.

FRANCIS AMBROSE WALSH.
Lynn, Mass., Nov. 19th.

Playing His Friends.

EDITOR DAILY PEOPLE.—The following will illustrate the brotherly feeling, love of justice, etc., that to-day exist among the middle class. Mr. A runs a large grocery store in a fashionable district. He cannot make things go his way so decides to make an assignment to his wife. Mr. and Mrs. A visit Mr. B who is one of his creditors, spend a pleasant evening playing cards and having a good time in general. Next day Mr. A makes an assignment leaving his dear friend out in the cold to the extent of a few hundred dollars. Illustrating the old business adage:

"It matters not who sinks so long as you swim." R. S.

New York, November 19.

"Hurrah for the Scandinavian."

TO THE DAILY PEOPLE.—The following story is now being told in the whole Scandinavian press of this country.

In Theodore Roosevelt's company during his tour through the Western States were, for a short time, the senators Knute Nelson of Minnesota, and Thomas H. Carter of Montana. It is but natural that the state of affairs in general and the approaching presidential election in particular should be the principal question to concern a company like that; but on such a long and tiresome journey one also tried to entertain oneself with innocent jokes and funny tricks. Thus Senator Carter composed a campaign song that roused great hilarity. Here it is:

"Oh, the Irish and the Dutch,
They don't amount to much,
But hurrah for the Scandibooian."

It was called "Senator Nelson's song" and was sung in Idaho, Montana, Utah, Colorado and Kansas. Smilingly Governor Roosevelt is reported to have declared that the campaign song of Mr. Carter ought not to be considered altogether a joke, for, regarding the Republican party it is particularly well suiting the situation.

A very neat story, is it not? I only hope that the situation created by the election of "Roosevelt and McKinley" may suit the Scandinavians, who really have played a great part in that great event.

When attending the meeting of the Scandinavian Singing Society of New York last Monday night I was asked by some of the members to make, through the columns of the DAILY PEOPLE, an appeal to the party members to try a scheme to get their papers on more of the stands of the news-dealers than at present. Said comrades had made an arrangement with their dealers that if he kept a certain number of copies of the DAILY PEOPLE every day they would secure him from loss by paying at the end of the week for all the copies not sold. In that way it would not do for the dealer, as often is the case, to refuse on the ground that the papers not sold were not returnable. The comrades thought that some activity of this kind ought even to be made the business of all the party organizations.

VICTOR FUNKE.
New York, November 21.

Prosperity Strikes Pueblo.

TO THE DAILY PEOPLE.—Just prior to the recent election the section men on the Santa Fe railroad were told that if Bryan was elected their pay would be reduced. Almost as soon as the bal-

lotting was over the wages of these men were reduced from \$1.40 per day to \$1.26. They got what they voted for and would have received the promised cut if the Weary Willie of two salt voyages had been elected.

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company has declared five dividends in the last months, four of them at eight per cent each and one of twelve per cent, being forty-four per cent in ten months. About half of the Stars who produce these dividends get the munificent sum of \$1.55 or less per day with good prospects for a cut to the producers and a corresponding increase to their masters.

This exhilarating to think of the chief executive elected by the slaves he skins and his lieutenant, the president of the labor organizations of the State, as running mate on the same capitalistic ticket. The former has skinned more men than any individual employer Colorado ever contained and the latter has made more loud professions of being a friend to the working class and as "good as Socialist as you," than any fraud of the intermountain country.

The ignorant ass as chief executive and the blatant fakir as president of the Senate of the Centennial State.

The various combinations of capitalist tickets with their stool pigeon Debse, "Labor," and other false tickets took all the wind and water out of the Socialist Labor Party in the late election and left nothing but solid meat and fighting muscle.

A great many are already sorry they voted against the only party that maintains the fight for labor, and sorrier they will be as time grows apace and the buzz-saw rips.

NIXON ELLIOTT.
Pueblo, Col., November 18.

On the Platform.

TO THE DAILY PEOPLE.—In a recent issue of our noble paper a correspondent advocates the taking on again to our platform of a number of clauses which shall state the Socialist's position with regard to propositions for the betterment of the condition of the working class.

For my part I was glad to see those resolutions expunged, which, up to the time of our last National Convention, formed part of our platform. They had accomplished their work; they had educated the people as to what might be expected when Socialists should get political power sufficiently into their own hands.

But now their presence was harmful, as they had given rise to organizations and parties, based on those resolutions; and those organizations and parties were not only outside the Socialist Labor Party, but invariably displayed towards it hostility of the bitterest kind.

The Socialist Labor Party is not going to compete with the capitalist or semi-capitalist parties in the number of its promises or in the grandeur of them. A truly class-conscious wage-slave needs no printed platform. He knows his daily grind year in and year out, and his platform is to stop it. He knows he is a slave doomed most likely to be used up in a few years and kicked into a pauper's grave, so he is for abolition—abolition of wage-slavery—the most merciless and cold-blooded slavery ever known.

The more planks in a platform the more discussion, confusion and division. One simple truth, tersely stated, but comprehensive, will do more than many planks and issues.

The now powerful and imperialistic Republican party rose to power with a platform of one word—ABOLITION—what more do we want?

JOHN ROBERTSON.
San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 21.

The Motion Seconded.

TO THE DAILY PEOPLE.—The suggestion of L. F. D. of Duluth, Minn., in to-day's PEOPLE that all comrades give a Christmas gift to the DAILY PEOPLE is O. K. Yes, comrades and friends, curtail your expenses and drop a dollar in the DAILY PEOPLE Christmas box. Section Hartford started to-day.

G. K. HARRISON, Organizer.
Hartford, Nov. 26.

Social Democracy, Prof. Herren?—No, Thanks.

("Advance," San Francisco, please copy.)

PRELUDE.

TO THE DAILY PEOPLE.—The work-people must have their own political party. What party? The Socialist Labor Party. Why? Because it is the thoroughly trained army.

FIRST IN THE FIELD, led by their own competent commanders. These commanders can be made or unmade at any time by the rank and file. Not so in the Social Democracy. Proof? Write to the much abused De Leon and the "martyr" Debs for the respective party constitutions. Compare them. There is a proof.

That sentence in my late letter of resignation which says that having renounced Populism, "I shall henceforth devote my energies to Socialism," having been changed by certain papers to "Social Democracy." I am receiving letters from Social Democrats greeting me as

THEIR "Comrade." Deliver me from all bitterness toward these deluded "reformers" of labor unions, brilliant lecturers at so much a night, newspaper grafters and tax-dodgers.

When I left the Peoples Party, I left for the revolutionary methods of the classical Marxian Socialist Party, not to further continue Populist tactics under "Social Democracy," "Social Republicanism," or Pettigrew's proposed "Social Labor Party." Don't hold up your hands, Mr. Social Democrat in horror, for I can furnish more proofs, than you will relish. It will be a sad fact that the next four years will add to the stench; for what else can you expect, where any dissatisfied agitation can at any moment start a new Socialististic party?

Because I am a class-conscious Socialist is why I chose the Socialist Labor Party. You, Mr. Kangaroos, have proved yourself a traitor to the cause of Socialism, because with your lips you profess belief in co-operation, yet in act, you set up would-be cut-throat competitive Socialististic parties. Shame on you, when there was and is already a growing party in the field, which, for more than ten years of its struggling infancy, under the banner of the Socialist Labor

Party, proved its loyalty to Socialism! What is left for capitalism to do, when everyone is crying Socialism, but to encourage you to form new Socialististic parties? Every member added to your factions sets a precedent for forcible rebellion to Socialism and dictates unitless for the Socialist State. On the other hand, each member added to the Socialist Labor Party is a protest against allowing ambitious leaders, out of useful work, to ride rough shod over party rules and the fundamental principles of Socialism. The factions among you rebels appearing already, will slowly yet surely be overcome by the united Socialist Labor Party. Your own loose methods will expose your capitalistic leanings. Instead of grasping the whole truth of Socialism, biding time until the working class may be able to get up the full wealth of noble life, properly theirs, these reactionary Social Democrats MUST HUNT EXCUSES for their political existence outside of the regularly recognized and necessary Socialist Labor Party. All roads do NOT lead to Rome. Soon as those rival leaders turned their backs on the beaten track, their ambitions lead them to manufacture increasing differences to differentiate themselves from the original class-conscious movement, else workingmen, depending on the Socialist Labor Party will say, "Why did they desert us?" "Why do they now oppose us?" First they abused De Leon, then fall down in hero worship of Debs. Next they leave true proletarian tactics still further behind by joining in the adoption of the infamous Kautsky resolution, thus endorsing Millerand, and leaving themselves everywhere free to accept administrative positions by the grace of capitalism.

"Let the church echo with patriotism and enthusiasm to-night. I want to hear applause for our State's fearless and popular governor, (Great applause). To that applause for our next vice-president I insist that there be added a thunder of applause for Theodore Roosevelt and 1904." And again the church trembled with applause when Teddy came forward to speak.

It was in a Swedish church. The minister introduced Teddy something like this: "I need not say that this great assembly most cordially welcomes the highest official of the Empire State, Governor Roosevelt, you are in the hands of friends, to-night. I dare say no nationality will support you and the principles you represent so loyally on election day as will the Swedes all over the United States.

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OFFICIAL NOTICES.

National Executive Committee.

The regular meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party was held at the Daily People Building, Monday evening, December 3.

Forbes in the chair.

Receipts for the week, \$395.58; expenditures \$380.08.

Organizer Abelson of Section New York reported the following vote for nominations for the National Executive Committee:

Peter Fiediger.....	359
Julius Hammer.....	342
Eber Foebe.....	322
August Gillhaus.....	230
John T. Keegan.....	315
Rudolph Katz.....	306
Adolph Klein.....	296
Bernard O'Toole.....	290
Charles G. Teche.....	286
Timothy Walsh.....	277
Hermann Eckstein.....	273
Adam Moran.....	267
William Kelly.....	211
Joseph Shearer.....	209
Dow Hogan.....	195
Stephen Murnane.....	184
William F. Gilks.....	178

The National Secretary was instructed to have ballots printed to be sent to the Sections of the Party in accordance with Article V, Section 1, of the Constitution.

Section Baltimore reports the expulsion of William Mark for voting the Republican ticket.

National Organizer Peiper reported on his work in Illinois.

National Organizer Dalton reported on his work in the State of New York.

Interesting reports continue to reach headquarters relative to the way the pure and simple kept their agreement to vote for Debs. Last week it was St. Louis that gave an interesting morsel; this week it is Texas, as the following extract from a San Antonio letter will indicate:

"In Texas, as everywhere else, the Debsites got sickly left. Here they had a paper of their own—the Farmer's Review; they took into the fold every crook that professed to be radically inclined; they favored on the pure and simple, and coaxed the erstwhile Populists or radical Democrats; and their claims before election forty thousand at least, and a hundred thousand would not have surprised them. In San Antonio, where the brewery workers had all pledged themselves to vote for Debs, and there are 200' of them, as well as many more pure and simple, Debs got 147 votes."

As to the rigid, strict, uncompromising, persevering spirit of the S. L. P., the following brief letter from the Secretary of the Washington State Committee is self-explanatory. It is but one of hundreds that reach the National Executive Committee:

"We have at least made a slight increase in spite of the Debsite annex to capitalist parties, in spite of their treacherous attempt to divide the working class by a fake ticket. They brag: 'We have more votes than you.' Certainly they have. So have the other enemies of the wage workers, the Demo-Reptiles with their Bryans and McKinleys votes. That is why we are. It is our work to overcome all fake parties and force the enemy, with their flunkey and henchmen, into one camp. But in spite of the fact that they have fought us hard, they have not realized their boast that they would kill the S. L. P. In spite of the fact that they shook the earth with the blatant yap of Bill the Noisy from Windy Nebraska and baited their line with the Debsomaniacs from Indiana, they have no more than kept us from getting what was NOT ours—we have the Socialist vote; they caught the freaks. We know now what we have to fight. Watch our banner from this time on. Live the Revolution!"

Sections are again urgently requested to return campaign subscription lists. Send the list to the State Committees. Sections in States where there are no State Committees are to return the lists to the National Secretary.

JULIAN PIERCE, Recording Sec.

Massachusetts State Committee.

The members elected to the Socialist Labor Party State Committee of 1901 are hereby called to meet, for the purpose of legally organizing, on Saturday, January 5, 1901, at the headquarters of the Socialist Labor Party, 45 Elliot street, Boston at 7.45 p. m. The following districts have held Senatorial conventions and elected State committee men; first and second Bristol, first Plymouth, first Suffolk, first, second, fourth and fifth Essex, third, fourth and fifth Middlesex, Middlesex and Essex, and second Hampden. Caucuses were held in the second Middlesex District, but the Secretary has received no notice of a Senatorial convention being held there. The secretary will send credentials to the State committeeman for that district as soon as he gets the name and address. The State convention held September 18, 1900, elected ten members as members at large of the State committee of 1901. These are also notified to attend.

Sections and members at large in Senatorial districts where no caucuses were held are requested to send to the undersigned or to Alfred E. Jones, 200 Bradford street, Everett, the name of a loyal caucus in their district for State committeeman. The State Committee will, as soon as organized, appoint those committees to fill the vacancies.

J. O'FIELLY, Secretary.
Massachusetts State Committee, Socialist Labor Party for 1900.

Socialist Ticket in Cambridge, Mass.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Dec. 3.—The Socialist Labor Party of this city, at a convention held on November 27, decided, for the second time in its history, to enter the municipal campaign. A complete city ticket was accordingly nominated, as follows:

For Mayor, J. W. Daehorne.
For Alderman, Ward Five, Ed. A. Chester, William E. Stacev.

For Alderman-at-large, Ward Five, Nils T. Fuglestock.

Ward Two, Christian Beck.
Ward Three, Gustave A. Blaschke.
COMMON COUNCIL.

Ward Two, Oscar A. Blanquist.
Ward Three, William J. Sullivan.
It is confidently believed that a large vote will be cast for this ticket. This belief is based on the vote of last year; when our candidate for alderman in one ward polled over 1,100 votes. Every indication favors an increase over this vote this year.

Woburn S. L. P. Nominations

WOBURN, Mass., Nov. 29.—The Socialist Labor Party of Woburn, at its Municipal convention, of which Peter Nelson was chairman and John Daley secretary, for Mayor, John F. Bradley; Board of Public Works, John W. Kegan; Alderman-at-Large, John O'Donnell; Cornelia J. O'Brien, John A. Johnson, James L. McDermott, Joseph V. Schugel, and William H. O'Brien.

S. L. P. Nominations in Lynn.

LYNN, Mass., Nov. 29.—Lynn Section, S. L. P., has nominated the following ticket for the Municipal election: Mayor, Frank Kiefe; Assessor, John P. Coyle; School Committee, Herbert R. Manley; Daniel S. Law; Aldermen: Ward 3, George B. Pear; Ward 4, John Bailey and Michael D. Fitzgerald; Ward 5, Michael Croft and James Goodwin; Ward 6, Thomas Cashman and Charles N. Wentworth; Ward 7, Charles Sahn; Common Council: Ward 3, Oscar E. Morse; Ward 4, James J. Travers, John Oldham, John Hickey, Frank B. Jordan and John Henley; Ward 5, David W. Shaw; Ward 6, Walter Deans and Owen Hughes; Ward 7, Thomas M. Birtwell.

Section Lynn's Officers for Next Term.

LYNN, Mass., Dec. 3.—Section Lynn, S. L. P., at its regular meeting on the above date elected the following officers for the first six months of 1901:
Organizer, Francis Ambrose Walsh, 384 Boston street, Lynn, Mass.

Recording and corresponding secretary, John Ryan.
Financial secretary, Thomas Burtwell.
Treasurer, Gallagher.
Press committee, Hughes, Walsh and Burtwell.

Grievance committee, Hughes Coyle and Deans.

Official Notice.

CLEVELAND, O., Nov. 29.—Section Cleveland, of the Socialist Labor Party, will hold a convention on Sunday, Dec. 9th, 2:30 p. m., at Party Headquarters, 256 Ontario street, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the different offices to be filled at the Municipal election next April.

All Party members are hereby earnestly requested to be present.

The branches in the various districts are requested to make nominations for the City Council at their next regular meeting.

By order of the General Committee of Section Cleveland, S. L. P.

FRANK ERBEN, Organizer,
108 Starkweather avenue.

Donations to the Daily People.

(Week ending Nov. 24.)

Previously acknowledged \$2,533.55
Milwaukee, Wis., Huber 40c.
Schuster \$1, Kloth 40c, Vierthaler \$2, Fuhr 40c, Schmidt 40c, Rubinger 40c, Schmitz 40c, Schnable 20c, Schleben 40c, Wilke \$2
Schenectady, N.Y., E. L. Lake \$1, E. F. L. Lake \$1, Weinberger 81, Club 1 to 4 \$1 each, \$1.

Elizabeth, N. J., Hoffman 45c, McGarry 25c, May 50c, Kunkel 25c, Sauer 25c, Fruth 25c, Hansen 25c, Press 25c, Koerner 25c, Jentzsch 15c, Wagner 25c, Hock 25c, Peterson 25c, Scronovsky 25c
Waterbury, Conn., Areta \$1.

Jacksonville, Ill., Renner 50c.
Mariis 50c, Lacy 50c, Hoffman 50c....

San Antonio, Tex., Bowers 25c, Federolf 25c, Pollard 50c, Lietner 50c.

Cleveland, Ohio, Alzuhn, 25c, Klien 25c, Zillmer, 50c, Kubert \$1

St. Louis, Mo., Heitzig 88, Wipperman \$8, Damkoler \$3....

New Haven, Conn., Serre 50c; Pfirman 50c; Sohey 50c; Mary 50c; Stedel 50c; Maher 50c; Feldman 25c.

Plainfield, N. J., By Branch \$2

Essex County, N. J., N. J. Owen \$2.50; Newey \$1; Waltz 25c; Vogel 25c; Dugan 25c.....
Hoboken, N. J., J. J. Sweeney 50c, Jersey City, N. J., E. F. Wegener \$1

Union Hill, N. J., Shepp 10c; Fricke 10c; Becker 10c; Thummel 10c; Betsch 10c; Dietrich 5c; Welbert 10c; G. E. 25 c.; C. L. 25c; Blome 25c; for subsequent week \$1.65

Richmond County, N. Y., Snyder \$1; Clark 50c; Driscoll \$1

New York—Excelsior Literary Society \$1

Gth and 1st A. D. A. Scheuer \$1; Weissloch 50c; Horwitz \$1

13th A. D., Grunwald \$1; Haller \$1; Oest 50c

15th and 17th A. D., O'Toole \$1; Cosgrove \$1

16th A. D., a friend, 25c; Weisberger 25c; Gorewitz 25c; Moskowitz 25c; Gottlieb 25c; Lefkovitz 25c; Bodenstein 25c; Bear 25c; Herskovitz \$1; Henchel 25c; Stark 25c; Fuerman 51; Friedman 25c; Wolf, 25c; Platzner 25c; Wohl 25c; Feldman 25c; Lederman 50c; Rotitz 50c

18th A. D., Dr. Owen Diamond 20th A. D., S. Winaver 55c

19th and 21st A. D., Mittelberg 50c; Mahland 40c; Eller 50c; Brandes 50c; Ortleib 50c; Douai 50c; Rasmussen 50c; J. W. G. 50c; Franck 50c; Rosenkrantz 50c; Wei-

man 50c; Petersen 50c; Leiminger 50c

23d A. D., Rubin \$1; Tzemakh 50c; Plamondon 50c; Koffman 50c; Busson 25c; Larsen 50c; Westerberg 50c; Pollock 50c; Bana 25c

30th A. D., Gillhaus 50c; Moren 50c; Samuels \$1; Heyman 50c; Klein 50c; Barthel 50c

32nd and 33rd A. D., M. M. Swenson \$2, J. W. \$1

34th and 35th A. D., Hermansen 50c; Hoden 25c; Johansen 50c; Gajewski 50c; Kinney 50c; Crawford 50c

Brooklyn 7th A. D., W. H. Wherry 50c; Rasmussen \$1.25; Klein \$1, B. Wherry 50c; Murphy \$1.50; Oehlecker \$1, bet won by Oehlecker \$1

Brooklyn 13 and 14 A. D., Christensen 25c; Manteufel 25c; Kuech 25c; Fredericksen 25c; Loehr 25c; Belopolsky 15c

Brooklyn 20, A. D., Zocler 25c

Mueller 50c; Cash 50c

Matamet 50c

Total \$2,651.15

HENRY KUHN,
National Secretary.

Daily People General Fund.

Previously acknowledged \$14,810.64

Received for Minor Fund from E. J. Morin, Duluth, Minn., 25c; collection at general meeting of Section New York, less rent of hall \$35.01; Geo. F. Spettel, St. Paul, Minn., \$3; Coudersport, Pa., Caussain \$1; Francois \$1; Weibel \$1; Daniel Law, Lynn, Mass., \$1; E. W. White, Polk, Pa., 25c; from dissolved Liebertafel, Buffalo, N. Y., \$5 47.51

Total \$14,858.15

HENRY KUHN,
Financial Secretary-Treasurer, Daily People Committee.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged \$1,283.04

Minnesota State Committee, on list 2.50

Section Clinton, Iowa, per J. R. Pepin 3.00

Theo Zollner, Little Falls, Minn., per J. R. Pepin 1.00

Section Baltimore, Md., per C. H. Corrigan 6.00

Virginia State Committee, per C. H. Corrigan 23.00

Section Altoona, Pa., per C. H. Corrigan 4.00

Section Patton, Pa., per C. H. Corrigan 6.00

Section Houtzdale, Pa., per C. H. Corrigan 10.00

Section Dubois, Pa., per C. H. Corrigan 3.00

Section Dubois, Pa., per C. H. Corrigan 6.00

Notice to S. L. P. & S. T. & L. A. Secretaries.

Secretaries of S. L. P. sections and of local and district alliances connected with the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, are requested to communicate matters of general and special industrial interest, such as reports of strikes, boycotts, lock-outs, etc., to the Editor Field of Labor, DAILY PEOPLE, 28 New Reade street, New York City.

REPUBLICANS CARRY HAVERHILL.

As we go to press we receive the following telegram from Haverhill regarding the Municipal election held there Tuesday, December 4:

Haverhill, Mass., Dec. 4.
Republicans make clean sweep. Delegates up the creek. M. T. BERRY.

Dalton to Speak in Boston.

W. S. Dalton of Seattle, Wash., will lecture in Caledonia Hall, 45 Elliot street, Boston, Sunday, December 9th, 1900, at 3 p. m.

Subject: The Social Democratic Party, The Socialist Labor Party; Which party truly represents the interests of the Working Class? Tickets 10c.